

CULTURAL RECONNAISSANCE OF HAMPSHIRE COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

INTRODUCTION

This statement presents a preliminary view of the rural culture found in Hampshire County, Massachusetts.

Culture is not referred to here in the sense of refinement of manners, but as the body of attitudes, traditions, and actions which identifies and unites them as a group. The culture of a people is their mode of life. It includes the ways they think and feel about things, the ways they do things, how they are organized into groups and communities, and their material tools, values, and symbols. It is the social environment, as contrasted to the geographic and biological environments.

Hampshire County is but one of 70 representative counties located in various sections of the country which are being studied in an endeavor to scientifically describe the important practical aspects of culture in rural America. This general reconnaissance of Hampshire County's rural culture is only the preliminary step to a fuller analysis which is to be completed during the next year or two. Therefore, no attempt is made here to elaborate fully or to present final conclusions.

Cultural studies have practical applications. They supply part of the basis for a better understanding of rural people and rural conditions. Cultural factors have an important influence upon how farmers manage their farms, how families live, and what their communities are like. Thus, cultural understanding is essential to the development of effective methods for successful educational work with rural people. It is also essential to the successful initiation and administration of projects and other activities, regardless of whether governmental or otherwise, or whether on the local, State or federal level. This has become increasingly recognized during recent years by rural leaders and organizations such as the Extension Service, religious and educational associations, farm organizations and various public and quasi-public agencies. Scientific studies of rural culture also add to our body of technical knowledge about rural society, which is being increasingly used in college teaching and other educational work for training administrators, teachers, ministers, and other rural leaders. Furthermore, the economic and social problems which impede better farming and happier rural life cannot be adequately stated for research purposes nor can adequate suggestions be made for their solution, unless the total culture is understood, since so many aspects of life are interrelated with others. Cultural studies such as this one help to supply that understanding.

Hampshire County, Massachusetts, is situated in the central part of the western half of the Commonwealth (State) as shown by figure 1. When this County was formed in 1662, it comprised the whole western part of Massachusetts. But in 1761 Berkshire on the west was established as a separate county, in 1811 the northern part was clipped off and established as Franklin County, and in 1812 Hampden County was formed on the south, leaving Hampshire County comprising approximately the central one-third of this section of the State. Today it comprises 577 square miles which is approximately the same size as an average county in the Middle West, but

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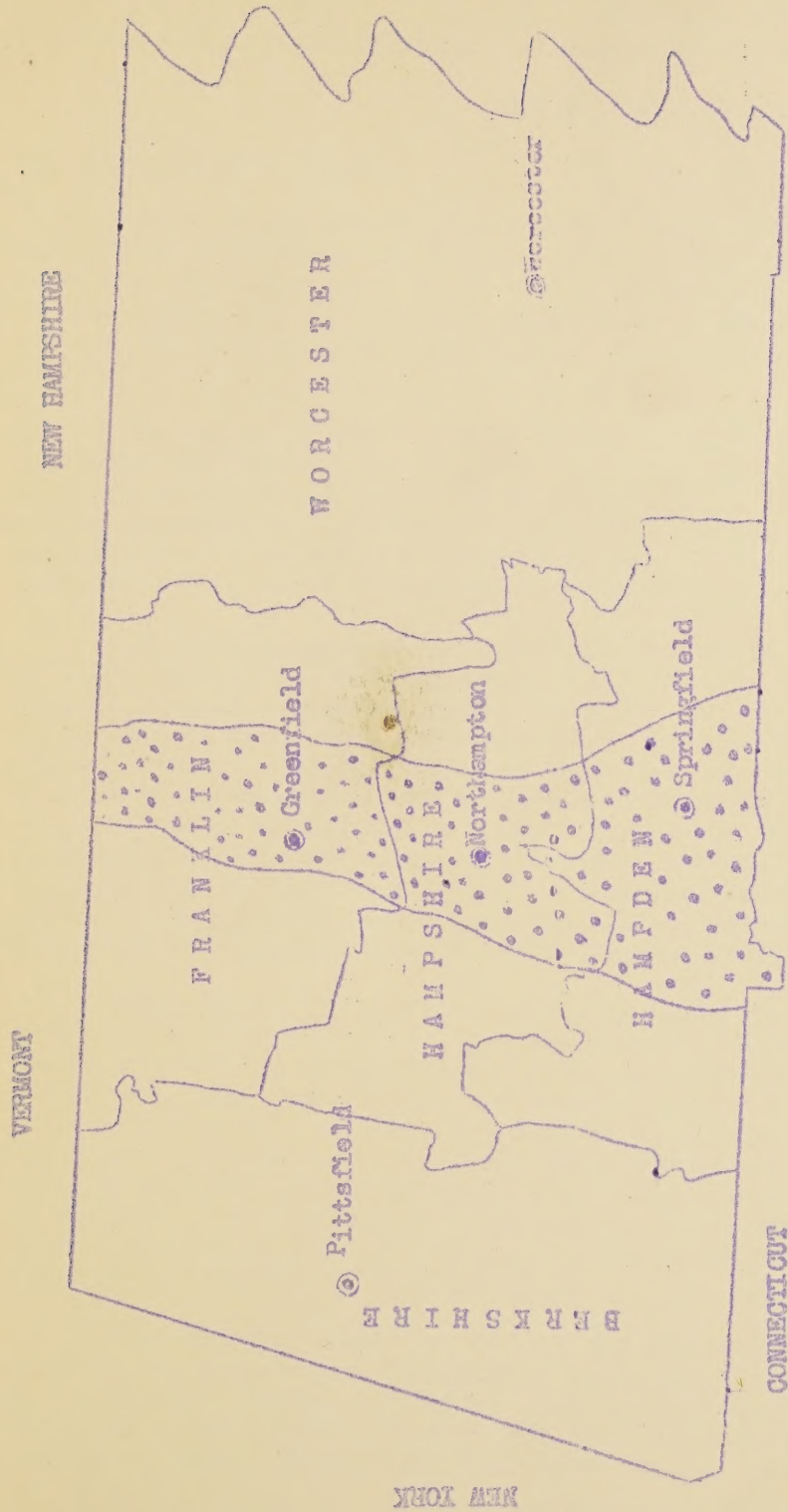


Figure 1. — Western Massachusetts, showing county lines and the Connecticut River Valley.

it is irregularly bounded and somewhat rectangular in shape. The county embraces 20 irregularly-shaped but strongly organized townships, each of which is known in New England as a "town", with the exception of Northampton township which is now officially organized as a city. ^{1/}

I. CULTURAL ORIGINS

The Physical Environment

There is one outstanding physical feature which influences the whole socio-economy of Hampshire County. This is the fact that the county lies astraddle the Connecticut River Valley which makes for two general areas in the county; (a) the "valley" which bisects the county north and south, and (b) the hill country which borders the valley on both ends of the county. (Figure 1.)

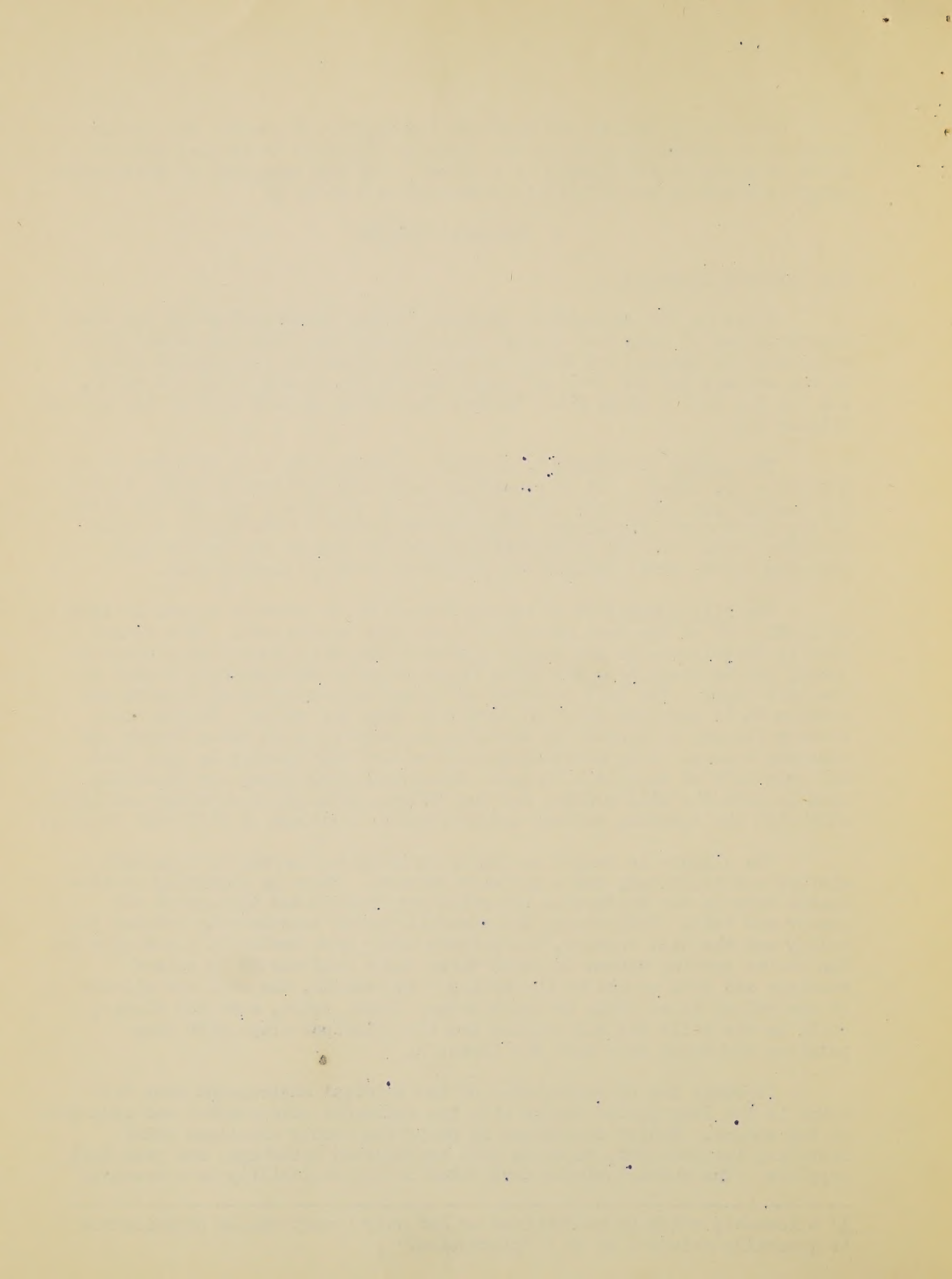
The valley or lowland belt varies in width from 5 to 15 miles as it traverses the county. It is generally sandy loam and very fertile, becoming heavier and relatively less productive as it rises away from the river to the surrounding highlands. About 60-75 percent of the valley is open tillable land. Farming is somewhat impeded by ravines and inundations, gravelly spots, small streams and scattered brush or wooded areas.

The hill country is an upland plateau which rises to a maximum level of 1,800 feet on the west and about 1,200 feet on the east. This upland area is largely wooded and deeply dissected, but still it contains comparatively smooth areas here and there which comprise the scattered fields of the hill farms. The land is rocky and after two centuries of farming and erosion it is somewhat lower in fertility than the valley. In the hill country farming is impeded by timberlands, rocks, brush, steep slopes and numerous brooks. Only about 20 percent of the hill country is open land and only half of this is tillable. Commercial fertilizers are generally used in both the hill country and the valley, although this varies considerably with the cropping systems and management practices of different farmers.

The climate in Hampshire County is humid and marked by long cold winters and relatively short but warm summers. There is generally considerable snow in the wintertime and rains are distributed throughout the summer and fall. Temperature and snowfall varies considerably between the valley and the hill country, the climate being much cooler in the highlands. The active growing season is about three and a half months in upland sections and five months in the valley. In general, the soil and climate of the valley is suitable to truck crops, fruit, grain, corn and clover, while in the hills hay and pasture are the principal crops with some potatoes and sweet corn here and there.

Probably the characteristic of the physical environment most disliked is the long winter season with its spasmodic cold weather and occasional ice storms. Winter conditions in Hampshire County sometimes makes traveling inconvenient, requires well constructed buildings, and good fuel supplies. The characteristic most liked is its suitability to successful

^{1/} A township which is unorganized or has only a very simple organization is generally referred to as a "plantation."



general farming and its beautiful scenery. Hampshire County people would be very unhappy on the dry and unscenic plains of the west.

We turn now to the people who settled in this varied physical environment.

Cultural Heritage

First settlements in Hampshire County were made about 1653 at what is now Northampton, and five years later at Hadley across the Connecticut River. This was only a few years after the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock. During the following 50 years new communities sprung up in various parts of the valley.

Nearly all of the early settlers were English, coming either directly from England or from newly established adjacent English colonies to the east and south of Northampton. But it was not until 100 years later (1760-1880) that settlers pushed into the western hill country above the valley. These too were predominantly of English background, the descendants of earlier settlers in the valley communities of the county and surrounding sections.

It was here in southern New England that American culture had at least part of its beginning. English colonists during the first century brought along their desire for representative self government, freedom of worship, and public education, and they quickly set about organizing themselves for achieving these ends. Hard work, independence, self support, acquisition of a home, thrift and security for the hard winters and for the late years of life--these were cherished values of the people and the times. Immigrants and descendants of earlier settlers took up their simple weapons and engaged in the Revolutionary War, which was being fought in nearby sections, to protect these values and achievements.

It is significant that of all the socio-cultural features established on the new land by the English nothing so persistently lived on as an institution as did their strongly organized township form of local government. Settlement in New England was generally by groups of families on areas of land called townships. Title to an entire township was acquired by either a group or an individual, by outright purchase from the early land colonization companies which operated in the name of the crown, although some townships or lots thereof were acquired by grants in reward for meritorious service of some kind.

Soon after settlement the people in various townships set about to organize themselves locally into "towns" as per Colonial Law and thereby establish local government. The principal concerns of local government at that time included provision for education, roads, and "preaching." Support of the minister was a public function of local government, and it remained so until in the early 1800's. Town "meeting houses" were erected early, and as soon as practicable school houses and a town hall were also built. There was no distinction between village and country people. All who lived in the township were "members and participants" in the same community.

In some towns, particularly in the early days, settlement began by establishment of the village, and the open country settlement which developed later was to a certain extent merely an outgrowth of the early village.

But after 1750 the scattered farmstead pattern was usually followed upon settlement, as individual settlers acquired ownership of lands by purchase from the owner of the township, or from the town itself. But whatever pattern of settlement may have occurred in various townships the important thing is that all the people in the town were united as a social group, and quickly developed a "consciousness of belonging" and a prideful attachment to their town. Township organization for the purpose of local government was the basis of this unity. The township had become institutionalized as the community.

Post Settlement Adaptations and Adjustments

Several major changes or trends were under way in the rural culture of Hampshire County as people adapted and adjusted themselves to the conditions of the times up through the years.

In the first place there was rapid expansion following settlement. During the first century the economy of Hampshire County was based on small self-sufficient farms and on small shops or industries, such as brick making, wood products factories, small iron and tool foundries, woolen mills, grist mills and the like. The economy centered around the family. The principal market outlets of the products of the Connecticut Valley farms and industries were Boston and other rapidly growing seaboard centers and the smaller interior cities and villages which were rapidly springing up throughout the valley and surrounding hill country. But industries were further developed; farming became both more expansive and more intensive; markets expanded and also the production of marketable goods with a growing population; the economy in the valley became well commercialized by 1776, and the hill townships sold and settled by this time.

Organized sociability centered in the church and its affiliated organizations. People did a good deal of visiting among neighbors and relatives in nearby towns. Education centered in one-room local schools, and some attended private academies for "higher" education. Village and country people intermingled. They were all of a common group, united by the common bonds of local government, church, school and social organizations which were all on a township basis and operated by all the people.

All in all the basic features of Hampshire County's rural culture were the products of circumstances of early times in America. The level of living rose steadily. Custom and tradition remained important controlling factors in the life of families and communities.

But the hardness, inconvenience and simplicity of life in the new land undoubtedly further instilled security, thrift and independence into the ideology of the early New Englander. Also the strong desire for education and freedom of religion were undoubtedly instrumental during the early 1700's in the development of the Congregational denomination (a so-called liberal church in New England which has continued up through the years to the present time as the predominant Protestant church in this region.)

But the English were not the only people to come to Hampshire County. The second major change in the culture of the county began about 1800, or 200 years after first settlement when immigrants from other countries than England started coming to western Massachusetts in large numbers. Irish immigrants made their first appearance about 1850, and some French-Canadians soon thereafter. Beginning with the opening of the twentieth century (1890-1910) large numbers of Italians, Polish and other Europeans came. According to the United States Census, by 1930 nearly 20 percent of the people in Hampshire County were foreign-born and probably at least that many were of foreign parentage.

With the exception of the Italians the majority of these new immigrants were of the kind who are generally attracted to the land and rural sections—Poles, Czechs, Germans, Lithuanian and French-Canadians. 2/ They were particularly attracted to the fertile lands of the Connecticut Valley and were a prominent factor in the rapid development of extensive farming here during the period 1900-1920. Many worked as hired laborers for a time, but started farming on their own as soon as possible. Thus, ownership of land in the valley has gradually moved from Yankee hands to the immigrant stock.

The people brought with them an energy and capacity to adapt themselves to new conditions, an interest in agriculture, a gregariousness and aggressiveness which is expressed in the desire for economic gain or anxiety to take advantage of opportunities in the new land, and such values as strong family unity and large families. Ownership of a home, a simple frugal life for security's sake, and other related values of the Yankees were never and are not now the primary motivating values of the immigrants to the Connecticut Valley.

Probably the most noticeable cultural trait of the immigrants to the Yankees was the large part family labor played in their farm economy. During the summer the Polish immigrant family virtually lived in the kitchen, with the women and children working hard in the planting, weeding, and harvesting operations of potatoes, onions, asparagus, tobacco and other intensive crops. The Yankee had never heard of such industry and activity. More than anything else he saw a new competitor in the success of the farmer immigrant. And he proved to be a strong one, for ownership of land in the valley gradually shifted from Yankee hands to the immigrant stock.

The new immigrants fitted into the patterns of social organization in New England and began exercising their right to participate in local government in the normal course of events. They also took up the Catholic religion and established churches throughout the valley. Undoubtedly Catholicism was already an established religion with many. It is said that the principal reason why the immigrant stock became so predominantly Catholic today is because the Yankee Congregational and other churches resented them rather than welcoming them as the Catholic church actively did. All in all, they manifested a group solidarity, based principally upon differences in political identity, religion, language, and farm family economy which set them apart from the Yankees, and the

2/ Unless stated otherwise, hereafter in this study these new peoples and their descendants will be referred to as "immigrant stock" rather than foreign-born or foreigners, and those of English background will be referred to by the common term "Yankee."

line between the two groups is still noticeable today.

The European and Canadian immigrants settled principally in the valley while the hill country has always been and still is very predominantly "native" Yankee, particularly the hill towns comprising the western portion of the county. But in recent decades some overflow Polish and others have immigrated into the highway towns bordering the valley, such as Huntington, Williamsburg, Amherst and Belchertown, and in more recent years a few have trickled into other rural communities further in the hill country from the valley. In general, the "foreigners" outside the valley are more or less concentrated in three areas—Haydenville, Huntington, and South Belchertown.

A third major change in Hampshire County was the decline of the hill towns and expansion of the valley settlements after 1840. The opening of the West and the tremendous technological developments of the period 1850-1920 brought about a major change in the socio-economy not only of Hampshire County but of all New England. Intersectional competition, urbanization, industrialization, and secularization came into full bloom.

On the economic side, grain, livestock, and apple farming gave way to the West. The number of farms and area of farmland both declined rapidly in the hill country, and dairying, poultry and other intensive enterprises came into the picture. Intensive farming expanded in the valley with a growing emphasis upon tobacco and various truck crops. Cities grew rapidly in the east, large-scale manufacturing and centralization were on the upswing, and the small industries of the rural villages in the hill country gave way, particularly with the decline of forestry resources. Railroads were built north into Vermont and New Hampshire, south to southern New England ports, and roads in all directions were increasingly improved. Northampton rapidly became a principal industrial and service center in the valley, as did Holyoke, Springfield, Pittsfield and Greenfield in adjacent counties. Trade and service facilities in the villages of the hill towns began to give way to larger centers. Immigration of the Poles and others also played an important part in the intensification of agriculture and growth of industries in southern New England.

On the social side, population increased rapidly in the valley between 1850-1920 and declined rapidly in the hill towns (table 1). In the valley, churches, schools and community organizations enjoyed increasing participation and activity. In the hill towns community organizations and institutions slowly adjusted to a shifting economy and population. Baptist and Methodist churches more or less passed out of the hill country since they never were as strong as the earlier Congregational church. More and more one-room schools were finally closed, Bible associations and other local organizations fell by the wayside. The Grange was established in nearly every Hampshire County town between 1830-1900, and still remains the principal local organization throughout the hill country and valley. A social status line between the immigrant stock and Yankees became quite marked, particularly noticeable in church, government and local organizations.

Table 1. -- Some agricultural trends in Hampshire County, Massachusetts
(From U. S. Agricultural Census)

Year	Number of farms	Acres of land in farms	Acres of cropland	Acres of pasture and mowing land	Acres of orchards and fruit land	Acres of vegetables	Number of cattle	Number of horses	Number of milk cows	Number of other cows	Number of sheep	Number of pigs	Number of chickens	Number of apple trees	Number of bearing apple trees	Acres of tobacco
1880	3,617	124,100	68,882	29,210	1,322	28,464	10,000	93,613	1,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1900	2,917	100,271	60,000	24,770	2,316	13,663	6,924	106,510	102,508	2,787	-	-	-	-	-	-
1910	2,279	97,093	60,000	21,464	3,007	10,113	5,717	100,008	100,785	4,010	-	-	-	-	-	-
1920	2,102	84,791	62,311	16,008	-	6,885	7,060	112,430	112,430	5,131	-	-	-	-	-	-
1925	2,530	76,739	60,776	18,465	2,465	10,938	6,864	123,523	121,835	3,933	-	-	-	-	-	-
1934	2,723	68,206	64,227	2,575	-	18,008	6,431	143,447	119,488	1,731	-	-	-	-	-	-
1939	2,263	51,129	59,903	2,355	2,908	7,719	6,714	162,323	80,237	2,643	-	-	-	-	-	-

1/ Includes plowable pasture.

Villages which were other than the government and institutional center of the town began to wane, especially those in the hill country. The rural neighborhood as a social group became weaker as the automobile and improved roads enabled people to carry on primary relations over a wider area and as neighborhood one-room schools gave way to centralized schools. Attachments to the home community through church, elementary school, local organization, local government and the like all tended to maintain the integration and life of the rural communities, despite the loss of trade and industry to other centers. Young people migrated from rural sections of the country to Northampton, other nearby cities, or outside the region. In general, custom and tradition slowly began to lose influence with the rise of urbanization and population migration. But the principal features of the Yankee value system persisted and particularly one's attachment to his town-community.

A fourth major change in Hampshire County socio-economy which has taken place during the last 25 years is the rise of the summer recreation industry. This falls into three general types:

1. Summer-home residents--are those from outside the community who own or rent a summer home in which they live during several months each year.
2. Summer guests--are those who come to summer hotels or rural summer boarding houses to live from a week to several weeks.
3. Tourists--who drive over the scenic intersectional highways that traverse the county, and who may stop for a day or two enroute.

Summer-home residents and guests are found principally in the hill towns. In fact, they have become an important part of the social and economic life of some hill town communities. A survey of Town Assessors' records indicated that in 1944 about 30 percent of the taxpayers and tax-valuation in the hill towns of the county consisted of summer-home properties. The summer people also contribute to the income of local churches, and operators of stores, summer residences, eating places, roadside stands, handicraft enterprises, and the like. They also participate to some extent in local community activities. A few summer people are former residents of these towns, or who have been coming here for several years and have now established local friendships and other attachments.

But noticeable and important as they are, the summer people are not an overshadowing feature of local social structure. On the whole, the majority of summer people tend to be somewhat apart from the local community, and under normal conditions travel to nearby cities for a considerable part of their commercial services and other interests. Furthermore, their time here is vacation time; thus, many of them prefer to participate only to little extent in community life.

Tourists occupy a relatively small place in the life of the hill towns, many of them driving through "without seeing much for which to

stop." They are more important to the valley communities, since here are the modern tourist homes, attractive restaurants, service stations, and other commercial and cultural attractions.

On the whole, it appears that in the towns there still are economic and social opportunities that could be developed without approaching over-commercialization, but to take advantage of them requires leadership, initiative, and willingness to venture.

Contacts and Relationships with Other Areas

New cultural traits and patterns sometimes arise from contacts with outside areas. Hampshire County and the Great Society are discussed more fully in section 4. Below is briefly reviewed the relationship of Hampshire County people and the Great Society only as it played a part in shaping the basic cultural heritage of the county which came up from earlier times. There was little travel prior to 1750, but there was contact with numerous Indian tribes and new immigrants were steadily pouring into the county. Later stage coach roads were improved to Boston and other centers to the east, south and north. The Connecticut River furnished a direct channel of travel to the southern coast. Intercounty and intersectional migration, commercial relations between traders and exporters, emigration of new settlers and of various missionaries and teachers were the principal sources of new contacts and ideals during the first two centuries of life in Hampshire County.

But the culture remained predominantly English until the coming of the Irish and Europeans, which was in full force by 1880. Their influences have already been discussed in other sections. The advent of the railroad up the Connecticut Valley from southern New England ports, New York, Albany and other cities and the west, establishment of the mail route west from Boston, invention of the telephone and intercontact with relatives who had gone west, expansion and improvement of roads, participation in the Civil War, migration from rural communities in the county to Northampton and other cities for employment, circulation of ministers and teachers, improvement of the public school system and establishment of Massachusetts State College, Amherst College and Smith College in the county—all were important channels of communication which brought new ideas and patterns in and out of Hampshire County after 1850. The result of all these was greater urbanization, secularization of rural life, further intensification and specialization in agriculture, and higher "standards" or desires of living.

II. TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS OF MAKING A LIVING TODAY

The purpose of this section is to briefly describe the rural economy of Hampshire County, with particular reference to some of its sociological aspects which have a bearing on understanding and interpreting the rural culture of the county. The ways people make a living, the relative importance of agriculture, the types of farming, the relation of people to land, the attitudes and customs which control farm

practices and standards of living of different peoples--all these are important in understanding the attitudes, activities and organization of rural people.

The Agricultural Products Produced

The general type of farming today in Hampshire County varies between the valley and hill country. In the valley agriculture is intensive and highly commercialized, and there are numerous large scale farm businesses. Tobacco, potatoes, onions, and asparagus are the principal intensive crops, along with silage corn and tame hay. Dairying, apples and poultry keeping are also important enterprises, especially on farms slightly above the valley floor. Small grain is relatively unimportant. Cropping systems on the valley track farms are somewhat flexible from year to year. Whether or not a farmer emphasizes potatoes, onions or tobacco depends largely on price, labor and cost outlooks in the spring. Generally the apple grower and the dairy farmer have the most stable farm organization. A farm with 30-50 acres of cropland is a good sized farm in the valley. There is no particular product that is the "pride of the valley," but farmers on the Amherst slopes are proud of their apples. On the whole, farming in the valley is highly rational, especially among the farmers of immigrant stock. Crop yields, prices, weather, labor supply and other rational factors are the important topics of discussion and considerations of the farmers, even small-scale operators.

In the hill country, on the other hand, farming is more of the general, subsistence type. Fields are scattered and rocky, much pasture land is untillable. Hay is the principal crop, although many farmers also have two to five acres of potatoes, sweet corn, beans or some other cash crop. Dairying and poultry are the principal sources of income, but here and there one finds a large scale operator with considerable potatoes. Maple syrup, cordwood or logs, and Christmas trees are important supplemental enterprises on some farms. Dairy and poultry farmers depend almost entirely upon commercial feed stuffs. In general, hill farms are large as measured by total acres of land, but small as measured by acres of cropland and size of herds and flocks. Probably 75 percent of the farms with dairying as the main source of income have less than 10 cows. Very few farms have more than 100 hens. Over half the families who live on farms in the hill country obtain some cash income from non-farm sources.

In the county as a whole there are about 2,300 farms, 52 percent of which are under 50 acres in total size and only 11 percent are over 100 acres. Slightly over one-quarter of the county's farms had gross incomes from farm production exceeding \$2,500, all the others less. Some trends in the county's agriculture since 1900 are shown in table 2.

The Machines and Tools of Production

Farming today in Hampshire County is considerably mechanized or at least operated by more production techniques. This is especially true in the valley where nearly every farmer has a tractor, truck, mechanical cultivators, diggers and other gadgets insofar as mechanical methods can be applied to local crops. However, a good deal of hand

Table 2. — Trend of population 1790-1940 by different types of townships in Hampshire County 1/

Year	For 9 small: rural : hill towns 2/	For 3 larger: rural : valley towns 3/	For 5 urban: cities 5/
1790	9,238	2,276	4,850
1800	8,615	4,013	5,932
1810	9,087	4,360	6,658
1820	9,346	4,362	7,684
1830	9,063	4,522	10,219
1840	9,435	4,613	10,165
1850	8,072	4,973	15,957
1855	7,326	5,701	15,691
1860	7,112	6,020	17,784
1865	6,704	5,775	19,682
1870	6,448	5,743	24,914
1875	5,914	5,439	26,529
1880	5,770	5,816	29,031
1885	5,387	5,618	31,338
1890	5,024	5,562	35,487
1895	4,837	5,566	38,415
1900	4,856	5,693	42,063
1905	4,648	5,482	45,726
1910	4,432	5,659	46,735
1915	4,583	5,607	51,582
1920	3,762	5,349	52,814
1925	3,804	6,441	56,942
1930	3,907	6,272	55,750
1935	4,259	7,067	56,049
1940	4,271	6,527	55,933

1/ From U.S. and Massachusetts State Censuses, as tabulated by Dept. of Economics, Mass. State College.

2/ Includes Chesterfield, Dummerston, Goshen, Granby, Middlefield, Palham, Plainfield, Westhampton and Northampton.

3/ Includes Balchardown, Huntington, and Williamsburg.

4/ Includes Hadley, Westfield and Southampton.

5/ Includes Northampton, Southampton, South Hadley, and Ware.

labor is still required on farms producing tobacco, onions, asparagus and the like.

Farming in the hill country does not require elaborate mechanical techniques. The most common devices here are the small tractor and the milking machine, but many farmers are without even these since their farming operations are too small to justify such equipment. The big job on the hill farm is haying. To a large extent this is still done by hand methods, compared to the Middle West or more intensive New England farming sections. The mower, dump rake, and pitchfork are the three common haying tools. Many farmers load by pitchfork and unload the same way, although mechanical unloading equipment is somewhat more common. Large scale, diversified hill farmers, however, do have all of the mechanical equipment adaptable to their farms. But, in general, the rough, rocky land, small acreages, cash outlay, availability of common labor for hire, custom of making hay all summer, relatively older age of the hill farmer, and scarcity of young men on the farm, all tend to retard mechanization of farming in the hill country.

Well-constructed buildings are found in Hampshire County, for the rigorous climate of the county requires them. Generally the dwelling, barn and sheds are all attached, a pattern common throughout New England. This building pattern presents a dangerous fire hazard, but was adapted in the early days as an adjustment to the rigorous climate. Peculiar to the valley are the large, plainly constructed tobacco sheds which dot the landscape. Nearly every tobacco grower has one or more of these large sheds where the tobacco is hung to dry. Large modern dairy barns are found here and there, and specialized truck crop farms have working or storage sheds suitable to the crops grown. In the hill country the ordinary buildings of the general dairy farm are the common thing, and they are usually attached. The silo is not common in Hampshire County, nor is the typical red painted hay-dairy barn of the Middle West.

Dwellings throughout the county are well built and nearly always painted, but the barns and sheds attached to them are often not painted. Dwellings are generally large, most of them having been built during earlier times when families were large and standards differed. People generally are proud of the age of their dwelling houses, many of them being 100 or more years old. Farms in the hill country are seldom recapitalized with new buildings, it just isn't in the land and income. If they go by fire or otherwise get beyond repair, the farmstead is abandoned and the land is either left idle or sold to a neighbor, or perhaps to a summer resident who has the means and desire to improve the buildings and grounds.

The Non-Material Techniques of Production

The ideas, sentiments and patterns of organization surrounding production often are as important as the tools and machinery of production. In fact, they frequently dictate what farm practices, which implements, and what kind of buildings farmers provide for themselves and the way they use them. Some of the most important of these in Hampshire County are briefly discussed below.



1. The desire for economic gain in order to achieve a higher level of living, security and prestige, it must not be overlooked, is an important factor motivating rural people in Hampshire County, the sentimentalists notwithstanding. After all, the people here are very much in and of America's economic system. There is a difference in this respect between the immigrant-stock family and the Yankee, however, particularly the Yankee in the hill country. A home and security is more largely their objective while economic gain for dollar's sake is more prominently a motivating force of the Polish and other foreign peoples.

2. Upkeep of buildings, equipment, animals and the land is an important characteristic by which rural people in Hampshire County distinguish between the good and the poor farmers. Seldom does a farmer achieve economic or social success if he is considered by his neighbors as one who is a slovenly farmer and a poor feeder. Pride is a non-monetary value which plays an important role in stimulating farm families to careful and sound farm operation, and these lead to economic success from which prestige is derived.

3. Judgment, managerial skill and ability to adjust to conditions of the times are also prominent nonmaterial equipment which distinguish some farmers from others in Hampshire County as well as everywhere else. These count for a lot, particularly in the valley because farming here is highly commercialized, and calls for analytical thinking and contacts in terms of prices, costs, buyers, sellers, regulations, selection of time and place to market, as well as scientific knowledge about operation of the farm itself. Farmers of immigrant stock more easily adjust to the commercialized requirements of farming than do the Yankee farmers. However, the Yankee too is a shrewd trader, but his skill in this respect is based more upon the simple, inconvenient and hard life of his long cultural heritage rather than as a response to the commercialization of recent years.

4. Cooperative business organization as a technique is found in Hampshire County, but not to the extent that it is found in certain other sections of the country. In 1940, about 13 percent of the farmers in the county reported having done some buying or selling through a cooperative organization, and at least this many also obtained cooperative credit from the FCA. This proportion is composed mostly of farmers who purchase supplies through the Eastern States Farmers Exchange, and Regional Cooperative Association. Marketing cooperatives are not the general rule in the county. Cases of cooperative ownership of herd sires and equipment are rare.

5. Mutual aid and informal cooperation among farm people is found to some extent in all sections of Hampshire County, but somewhat more so among the Polish in the valley. Here on certain farm tasks like setting onions, or weeding tobacco which require crews of hand labor, and where the "family labor" pattern is strong, the sharing of family labor crews among nearby farmers or relatives is quite common. Farmer A with his wife and children, and farmer B likewise, will help farmer C and his family do their onion planting, then all will show on farmer D's

planting. There has been considerably more of this during the last couple of years when farm labor for hire has been scarce. Exchange of labor and equipment is much less common in the hill country. This is due partly to the independence of the Yankee farmer, and partly to the fact that the type and scale of farming common to the hill towns do not require it. Neither is there any significant exchange of labor or other similar co-operative action between foreign groups: i. e., French-Canadian, Yankee farmers and Polish farmers seldom exchange work among each other. An emergency such as a fire or death in the family will, on the other hand, bring out mutual aid, regardless of social status or economic class.

6. Community organizations, such as the dairyman's association, the apple growers and the potato growers also represent an important nonmaterial technique of production. In these farmers learn to act together, learn technological information, and promote or implement certain common interests and projects. In general, the large or medium scale farmer, and particularly those in the valley, predominate in these special interest groups. Both Yankee and foreign farmers act together in such organizations to considerable extent. The hill farmer generally does not participate, because he is a small scale operator and he is too far away from the county seat where most of these organizations tend to center. Falling into the same class with commodity organizations, are the Grange, Farm Bureau and AAA. It is reported that the AAA has played a unique role in the county in bringing together various cultural backgrounds and classes of farmers, since a large proportion participate in AAA.

7. Folk knowledge and tradition, as nonmaterial techniques are more common among the older farmers in the hill country than among commercialized intensive farmers of the valley. But, in general, the reliance upon folk knowledge is no more impressive or commonly found in Hampshire County than in the Middle West or any other section of the country.

Man-Land Relations

The relation of the people to the land and its implications is an important aspect of rural culture which rural agencies and leaders need to have an understanding of if their work is to be effective. The principal features of man-land relationships in Hampshire County are briefly mentioned below.

1. Density of settlement--About 77 percent of the people in Hampshire County live in the cities of Northampton, Easthampton, Westhampton, and Ware; 10 percent live in villages and 13 percent in the open country, mostly on farms. About 55 percent of the farm population live in the valley and 45 percent in the hill towns on either end of the county, nearly half of the latter living in Belchertown township. The valley is much more thickly settled than the hill towns.

2. Pattern of Settlement--The "scattered farmstead" pattern of land settlement may be said to generally prevail throughout the county. But a semblance of the "line village" pattern is also seen as residents follow the main roads which radiate from the principal villages, and in

some parts of the hill country nearly all of the open country places are along main roads that wind over hill and dale. The rectangular road and settlement pattern typical of the Middle West is not found in New England.

In the valley is found two or three cases of strictly village--line-village pattern of settlement. In Hadley and Hatfield particularly, where there are many truck farms containing only 15-35 acres, farmsteads are lined up along the streets in village pattern with the barns and farmland extending to the rear. This pattern was established by the early English settlers. But two other factors have served to contribute and strengthen it up through the years; namely, Polish settlement and intensive farming.

3. Tenancy—Most of the farms in Hampshire County are operated by their owners. In 1940 less than 7 percent of the farmers were tenants, slightly more tenancy in the valley than in the hill country. On the hill, the number of hired workers with whom to share land rights are also relatively few in number, especially in the hill country. In the valley hired farm workers probably constitute a third of the total labor force in certain periods of the year, many from villages and cities.

There are several reasons why the rate of tenancy is low in Hampshire County as well as in New England; (a) ownership of land and home is an important cultural value of the Yankee, and to some extent also of the immigrant; (b) the relatively small scale and meager farming except for the intensive sections, makes the demand and prices for farms relatively low, and has led to a custom of buying a farm when one starts out rather than renting; (c) the rocky slopes of New England are not used so much as an investment by insurance companies and the like as are the farm lands of the Middle West; and (d) many operators inherit their farms from their parents, or purchased them many years ago.

Thus, the March let moving pattern of the Middle West is not seen in New England, and farm families, most of them being owners and otherwise strongly attached to their town communities, live on their farms for a long time. Even in the valley there is a stability of farm residence and ownership.

4. Sentimental Attachment to the Land—The New England Yankee looks upon the land as a home and place to live as part of the community, not as a capital stock investment. The hill farmer hopes to see his son continue on the farm; he dislikes to see ownership pass out of the family especially to an outsider. But this value is much more characteristic of the older generation than the present one. On the other hand, the immigrant stock in the valley are not so strongly attached to the land by sentiment, long residence, and economic struggle. To them, land is more a source of income, of economic gain, of ascent up the economic ladder in America, "the land of opportunity." But, in general, ownership is preferred to tenancy, and they highly value permanent or long residence since they are strongly attached to family and to community through their church. This is discussed more fully in a later section which deals with attitudes and value systems of the people.

Non-Farm Activities

Agriculture is not the only source of income in rural Hampshire County, nor farm operation is not the only source of income for the farm people in the county. In the county as a whole, about 42 percent of the families classed as farmers by the census normally work off their places, and 30 percent do so 100 days or more a year. As many in the valley work off their places as in the hill country.

In the hill country the principal kinds of employment off the farm include wood cutting, local common labor, commuting to industrial work in nearby cities, catering to vacationists and public work such as on the roads, driving the school bus, hauling mail and the like. Farmers in the valley engage in a variety of nonfarm jobs but generally in some kind of shop or mill work in the industries of Northampton, Springfield, Holyoke, and other nearby places. Commuting 10-20 miles a day is easy and not uncommon. More rural people are doing so today during wartime than ever before. Even some not-so-small operators in the valley engage in nonfarm work in the wintertime in order to make some additional money, and many of them work in local tobacco "houses" in the wintertime.

In the hill country off-farm employment is the stabilizing factor in the local economy, since the general level of living would be extremely low were it not for other local sources of cash income. The automobile and improved roads makes this possible. Employment in surrounding industries plus the rise of the recreation industry may prove to be the lifesaver of hill town economy. But it also throws the hill farm family into greater interdependence and interrelationship with the industrial economy of the surrounding cities. This has, and will, continue to secularize the traditional life of the rural hill socio-economy and weaken the attachments to family, land and community. But, on the other hand, if rural communities were to improve facilities, services, and otherwise become attractive places to live, their future role may well be more one of furnishing residence to families who find their cash income in surrounding cities and elsewhere than on the farm. Such a trend should redound both to the family and to the community.

Cycles of Activity

Like everywhere else life on the farm in Hampshire County follows the cyclic activity of the seasons and to a certain extent the activity of rural communities is likewise affected. In the hill country "sugaring" (maple syrup) is the big job which opens in the spring, followed by what little planting and cultivating is done, then a long summer of haying, fall harvesting of fields and gardens, and finally a long winter of wood chopping, stoking fires, shoveling snow, and chores. Generally, the summer and fall is full of church suppers and Orange or other community affairs, and some local dances. School activity, church and other organization meetings, local dances and holiday festivities keep rural community life ahum in the wintertime.

In the valley farming proceeds with considerable more activity from planting tobacco in the hot beds and setting out onions during April,

to apple picking in November. The summer is full of one cycle after another of planting, cultivating, and harvesting various truck crops. It is said that the families of immigrant stock, at least those of the old generation, live in the kitchen during the summertime since everybody works on the farm, and spread out into the sitting room and parlor during the wintertime when life is easier. Wintertime in the valley finds many farm people employed in nonfarm activities as mentioned earlier. Community organizations, churches, and general sociability pick up momentum from fall to spring. Intercounty and community fairs occupy attention in the fall and generally center around the agriculture, home, and 4-H sections.

Levels and Standards of Living From the Land

In Hampshire County as a whole, the general standards and levels of living are relatively high. Farm houses are in fair to good condition. In 1940 nearly 80 percent of the farm homes had electricity, 50 percent a telephone, 76 percent running water, 50 percent a bathroom, 60 percent were on hard-surfaced roads, and 62 percent of the farm families had an automobile.

Hampshire County is also an educational and cultural center. There are four colleges in the county. Northampton, the county seat, is a city of 20,000 which offers numerous urban advantages and influences upon the surrounding countryside. Churches and organized activities occupy an important place in the rural culture. It has already been pointed out that the economy of the county is broad based and relatively stable, thus food and clothing levels are relatively high. Also, nearly all young people complete high school and more than the usual proportions attend college because of the availability of colleges and vocational schools nearby. Furthermore, the Extension Service has played a significant role in assisting farm people to maintain or improve incomes, and in disseminating information for the uplift of family living.

In general, the level of living is somewhat lower in the hill towns than in the valley due to their limited economy and meager community services, and in isolated sections here and there the intelligence, family standards, and level of living are very meager. Not on the whole it cannot be said that the standards and aspirations of the hill town folk are any lower than their valley neighbors.

In general, both the standard and level of living of the Yankee has been somewhat higher than that of the immigrant stock. The latter have made as much money, but it usually did not get reflected into better family and community living until in the last decade or two. The immigrant believed in hard work and was first interested in acquiring a stake in land, equipment and farm facilities in their anxiety to get a foothold in American culture. But the younger generations today look upon education, family comforts and the like nearly as highly as does the Yankee.

But even though the general levels of living in rural Hampshire County may be relatively high compared to some other sections of the county, this does not mean that there should be any relaxation in endeavors to further improve them. Efforts now probably needs to be geared toward the lower-level areas of the county to a greater extent. Any endeavors

to improve the level of living must also give consideration to the gap or discrepancy between one's standard and the level achieved. Levels of living cannot rise more quickly nor beyond standards. In general, the discrepancy between the two in Hampshire County is not great, which means that endeavors to lift levels of living must now also consider the task of lifting present living standards themselves. This involves reckoning with the time duration of present living standards and a host of other interrelated cultural factors.

III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Rural people do not merely work and produce. They live--in families and in communities. They want to live satisfactory lives and they also want their children to have economic and social opportunities as well. Thus, rural people generally have concerns about the social and noneconomic aspects of life. To understand what these concerns are and what the attitudes and activities of the people are with respect to them is an essential part of the understanding which is essential to working with people effectively. Some of the principal features of social organization in Hampshire County are discussed briefly in this chapter.

Local Government

The outstanding feature of rural social organization in Hampshire County, as well as throughout New England, is that the significant unit of local government is the township, not the county. It has already been pointed out that the township was strongly organized upon settlement. Every town constructed its town hall, school and church as soon as possible, generally at the same spot and this became the service and institutional center of the "township" community.

Township government has come down through the years in about the same general form as it existed two centuries ago, and still remains the significant unit of local government today as well as the basis of local social organization. People govern themselves in these township units by group consensus, centering around the annual town meeting and whatever interim town meetings are necessary. Administrative and executive duties of town government are in the hands of elected officers headed by the Board of Selectmen. Village and country people participate alike; there is no extra-legal line between the two.

This township local government touches all the people in a variety of ways. Taxes are assessed and collected by the township--not the county. The township polices and protects the people--not the county. The administration of township, State and federal highways is sponsored through the town government, not the county. The township government operates the public schools through a township school community--there are no separate school districts with administrative and financial autonomy. Public welfare, old age assistance and the like reach local people through the town government, not the county. The town government also registers births and deaths, issues marriage and other licenses, cooperates with the State

in forest protection, often subsidizes a town doctor, administers the cemeteries, usually maintains the town library, and in Massachusetts the Civilian Defense and CPA ration boards are also hinged to the town government, not the county.

Thus these extensive functions of township government as well as its organization and techniques tends to make it an important integrating factor in the community, and to make the township the area of important common interest and local attachment.

Class and Status Groupings

Two basic generalizations can be made about status and class structure in rural Hampshire County. In the first place, class and status lines are not sufficiently sharp to give rise to serious conflicts or to caste patterns. But they are discernible. Secondly, there is no single classification in which the people fall at all times. Status class structure varies between communities, and within the community. It is flexible, not fixed; it is situational, not institutionalized.

No significant distinction is made between village and country people. Racial differences are unimportant since over 99 percent of the people are white. Tenure is also unimportant as a class-status determinant since in both the open country and village the percentage of tenancy is low in Hampshire County. Neither is type of farming an important status determinant.

On the other hand, nationality cultural background, length of residence in the community and income are the most important determinants of status class differences. In the hill country three status types are discernible: (a) native old stock sometimes referred to locally as "blue-bloods"; (b) active newcomers; and (c) common folks. Jews, Catholics and radicals are delineated in rural hill town society, but generally the numbers of these are too few to be of any importance as yet.

In the valley the most significant status line is that between the Yankee and the immigrant stock, and closely hinged to this is the Protestant-Catholic difference since many of immigrant stock are Catholic. Competition and conflict between all these peoples was much sharper in earlier times than it is today. Today there is more or less common association between them in business relationships such as farm organizations and local government, and there is also some intermarriage between whatever nationality groupings are here.

But in other social relations such as in the Grange, family visiting, exchange of work, and church societies, the Yankees and immigrant stock generally do not participate together. There was also some differences between groupings within the immigrant stock itself, especially between Polish Catholics and Irish Catholics. It is said that on local issues oftentimes the Polish Catholics side with the Yankees against the Irish. Other than these there are no important overt actions between immigrant groupings, and none of them have made any significant attempts to preserve their own folk dances and other social customs. However, each

one is sufficiently proud of his own nationality identity that one should be careful to not make the mistake of referring to a Pole as a "Gaul" or a Lithuanian.

Income also plays some part in defining class groupings, probably more so in the valley than in the hill country, and more so among the immigrant stock than the Yankees. Income or wealth is considered an important measure of success, and thus, is a factor in evaluating and assuming interest, respect and leadership.

In general, there is little or no discrimination between class and status groupings in the local administration of justice, provision for education, public welfare, employment, ownership of land, use of public carriers and the like. All are treated more or less equally, although there have been instances here and there where a newcomer was put in his place at town meetings if he talked too much, and local leadership to some extent does tend to follow status-class lines.

But whatever status groupings are discernible the status class structure in rural Hampshire County is not sufficiently delineated to give rise to serious conflicts. And as said before; it is situational, not institutionalized. Different alignments take shape as different situations or issues from time to time happen to come to the fore. The native-newcomer line in the hill country, and the Yankee-immigrant stock line in the valley, constitute the underlying patterns of status structure in Hampshire County. However, they are slowly fading rather than becoming sharper. Interaction in school, in commercial relations and in local government make for this tendency.

But this does not mean that status-class structure can be neglected in organizing and working with rural people. Such endeavor must be based upon "natural groupings" and status class distinctions and other cultural differences still exist to sufficient extent to be at least a partial basis for whatever natural groupings do exist. For example, it is said that at the outset of civilian defense organization, full participation of local people was not achieved in some communities simply because State and county leaders overlooked the importance of formulating local organization upon natural groupings, and of selecting the "right" local leaders and places of meetings. Instead, an entirely Yankee structure was inadvertently set up, which was not too satisfactory for awhile. Other cases will occur to the reader which also illustrate the importance of understanding people if they are to be effectively enlisted into any common endeavor. There is need for agencies and organizations on the State and federal level to be as much or more cognizant of this as those on the county and local level.

The Family

In all societies the family is one of the principal groupings within which people live. Several factors are important in this preliminary analysis of the family and the rural culture of Hampshire County.

1. Family Size and Composition—Families are small in Hampshire County compared to certain rural sections of the United States and larger than in some other sections. But there is considerable variation between different cultural groups of the county in this respect. In general, the average Yankee family is somewhat smaller than that of the immigrant stock. Thus, one sees larger families in the valley than in the hill country. Moreover, in the hill country a large proportion of young people migrate elsewhere, which in turn makes for fewer children and youth in proportion to older people. In the valley there is less inclination to migrate elsewhere since economic and social opportunities are greater and the larger proportion of immigrant stock families also makes for a larger average size of family and more children and youth in rural communities of the valley.

Number of children per family, age of children, proportion of young people which are found in communities as a result, and composition of the family other than parents and children are important factors. They have a bearing on the extent to which different families and family members can participate in local organization, on the plans which must be made for reaching different families, on the security plans of people, on the standards and levels of living of different families, on the amount of work that a family can do, and on the attitudes of people toward matters dealing with local education, health, recreation and other community activities or facilities.

2. Family Aspirations—Rural parents in Hampshire County generally want their children to have an easier and more comfortable lot than they had, but this is somewhat less true of the immigrant parent than the native Yankee. This desire of rural parents is one based of economic striving and of community improvement, although less is generally expected of the community for the benefit of children and young people than is expected of the family itself. The fact that family welfare is regarded as a duty of the family is simply a correlative of personal initiative and ambition, which is a highly-regarded social value in New England. The small proportion of young people in the hill country and the recognition that many of them must go elsewhere to make their way also tend to hold down what families expect of their community and to lift their desire to provide those things which will help the youngsters get ahead elsewhere; mainly economic backing, education, and hard work.

3. The Division of Labor Within the Family—Here there is considerable difference between the hill town Yankee family and that of immigrant stock in the valley. Women and children are an important source of labor supply on the tobacco and truck farms of the foliage and other immigrant stock now found in the valley. In the immigrant family older children are expected to work as an aid to helping the family provide itself a living and to enhance its freedom from dependence upon others. It has already been mentioned that the foreign-born family was said to live in the kitchen during the summer time. This is much less true of the second and third generation immigrant stock, but there still is considerable use of family labor and exchange of family labor among the immigrant stock in the valley areas of Hampshire County.

In the Yankee family, on the other hand, the place of the women is definitely within the home, even more so than in families of the

Middle West and some other sections of the United States. On the whole, a small proportion of housewives in native New England families manage the farm chicken coop or help with milking or other chores even in the summertime. Young people do so, but not to the extent that they do in either the immigrant-stock family in the valley or in the Midwestern family. Thus the New England housewife has more time for developing an appreciation of cultural arts, community leadership, and other interests than in some other sections of the country, and some of them take advantage of this opportunity.

4. Family Unity and Identity--are fairly strong in Hampshire County. People are identified as belonging to this or that family. Most of the visiting of rural people--both farm and village--is with relatives often in other communities or counties. In fact, much more so than a generation ago. A considerable portion of Hampshire County families do things together--at least some of the time during a year--visit, self-entertain, make shopping trips to the city, participate in community activities and the like. This is particularly true of hill town families, partly because of distance and other convenience factors.

The immigrant stock family in the valley is especially strongly united. Part of this unity is based upon the early experiences of the immigrants, which increased their anxiety for self preservation, and made them more conscious of their differences from the natives. Their family unity is also related to the large place the Catholic Church plays in their social life. One manifestation of immigrant stock families is seen in the importance they give to weddings and funerals. Everyone attends. This in turn tends to further strengthen family unity, as does also the cooperation of family members in the family economy.

Religion and the Churches

One of the most significant features of rural culture in Hampshire County, as well as throughout New England, is the large place occupied by the local church in the life of the rural community. It is one of the principal integrating factors of the community from which is derived a feeling of belonging and loyalty to the community. It constitutes an important local common-interest group. It is the focal center of a considerable part of local community life and social activity. Along with the school it is a principal source of professional leadership for the individual and for the community. It constitutes one of the principal ways by which people are organized locally, thus it is an important vehicle or channel for reaching and working with people on the local level.

In rural Hampshire County two denominations greatly predominate: (a) Catholic Church, which is found principally in the valley where Polish, Irish and French-Canadian populations are in greatest number; and (b) Congregational-Protestant denomination which almost entirely prevails in the hill towns and other areas where native Yankee populations are found. Small Methodist and Baptist Churches are found in the cities and large villages. In earlier times these denominations were found in nearly all towns throughout the hill country, but they generally passed out with the economic and population decline that took place 1800-1920.

leaving the field to the earlier established Congregational Church.

Throughout New England preservation of the local church is an important element in the value system of the people. "The town would not be a community without a church." "Every community must have a church." However, religion does not deeply motivate the life of the people and. the community as it once did, and in many communities it has a hard time to find active support of the people.

Finally, religion and the church are pretty much personal matters. They do not exert any fundamental controlling influences upon personal activities like, for example, the church in the Pennsylvania Dutch Society. Instead freedom of thought and action prevails.

Education and the Schools

Education has always occupied an important place in New England rural culture, although the standards of schooling and school facilities are rather low in some rural communities.

In Hampshire County, as well as throughout New England, public education is a function of the township government; there are no autonomous school districts. During recent years most towns have consolidated their one-room schools into one or two central schools located in the principal villages.

Townships of small populations, most of which are in the hill country, do not have a high school. They provide secondary education for their young people by paying the tuition and transportation to one of town high schools in surrounding cities or large villages. Towns are reimbursed for most of this out of "State Aid" to education.

There is no ethnic discrimination in provision for public education. All go to the same school, although in some of the smaller villages and cities in the valley there may also be one or more Catholic parochial schools. Neither is there any ethnic discrimination in school activities. Today the children of both Yankee and immigrant stock freely participate in athletic activities and other school programs.

In general vocational education is looked upon with favor and some is provided in most of the high schools in the county. There is a sizeable privately-endowed secondary vocational school in Northampton specializing in agriculture, home and industrial arts.

Today nearly all young people complete high school, those in the hill towns traveling 20-25 miles each way per day, or boarding away from home to do so. High school education has been looked upon with somewhat less favor by families of immigrant stock, but in recent years most of these young people have also tended to complete secondary education. Four excellent colleges lie within its borders: Smith College, a girls college at Northampton; Mount Holyoke College, another girls school at South Hadley Falls; Amherst College, a liberal arts college at Amherst for men, and Massachusetts State College, the co-educational largest college of the State, at Amherst. There is also a girls preparatory

school, a school for the deaf, and a business college at Warrington. Each of these institutions has certain influences upon their respective communities in the county. Interestingly enough, the private arts and science colleges are looked upon by some with disfavor, because of their liberal "views" and policies.

In most rural communities the school teachers are required to play an important part in the leadership of the community, that is, participate in various organizations and assume direction of various activities or projects. In Hampshire County the A-E Extension is also closely hinged to the school in some communities with one or more teachers assuming active leadership in this work. At the present time a considerable proportion of teachers in the rural townships of Hampshire County live in the local town or nearby towns, and many of them are married. Thus the question of upholding the mores of the community tends to become of less local concern than otherwise might be the case. More important, especially in the hill towns, is whether or not the teachers have "too modern" ideas as to methods of teaching and courses of study, and whether their views are too liberal. Communities notice the divergence from local norms in these respects as much as in local social traditions.

Other Formally Organized Groups and Associations

Every rural community in Hampshire County includes a variety of local organizations in addition to the church organization itself, and most common of these are church women's societies, the Grange, and women's extension groups. In addition to these some communities also have one or more of the following: Church Men's Club, Boy Scouts, Parent Teachers Association, Mothers' Club, American Legion-Auxiliary, Missionary Society, Women's Club, a historical society or some other literary group. All these organizations carry on the usual activities common to such groups.

In general, the women are far better organized and more active in rural community life than the men, although some men participate in the Grange, Legion and church men's clubs where these are found. It is local government that men think of as the vehicle for community-wide action.

Generally, in valley communities local organizations are fairly active and efficiently organized. But in the thinly populated hill towns most of the churches and local organizations find it somewhat more difficult to keep going and to serve their membership and communities well.

An important factor of local community organization in Hampshire County is that village and country people alike generally feel free to participate in various community activities. This derives from the strongly organized local government on the township level which has already been pointed out in earlier paragraphs. Village and country, as a rule, are not separated by extra-legal boundaries as in some other sections of the country.

In addition to community organizations largely for sociability and educational purposes, there are numerous special interest groups organized on a town or inter-county level, such as the Hampshire County Chapter of the Red Cross, the Hampshire County Public Health Association, the Hampshire County Farm Bureau, the Pecan Oranges, the Potato Growers Association, and various other farm commodity organizations and special interest groups. Some of these have lines to the town or community with local representatives or officers such as the Red Cross, and others have none. There are no farm organizations on the community level.

World War II has prompted a certain amount of community organization and activity. Shortly before Pearl Harbor the civilian defense structure was organized on the town basis by the Massachusetts Committee on Civil Safety. Every town has carried on various air-raid defense and other war-related programs. Town post-war planning committees have also been set up by the selectmen at the suggestion of the State. Town rehabilitation chairmen have been recently appointed as directed by Selective Service. In some towns these post-war committees and officers are active; in others not. They are not integrated with any of the local social structure except crudely tied to the town governments. On the county level a Veterans Advisory Committee has been set up under the auspices of the State and County Extension Service. It is dealing in an educational way with both the returning soldier and the returning war worker. It has informal ties with the above mentioned Selective Service Rehabilitation Chairman, the Committeemen, and other groups. In general, there is need for greater coordination of all these post-war activities, and an especial need for strengthening the community link, for it is on the local level with which people are familiar and to whom they will first turn for assistance. Thus, well-informed communities are essential to the success of these programs.

Social Welfare Activities

Public welfare in Hampshire County, as well as throughout New England, is pretty much handled by town government. It administers the various Federal and State social security programs in cooperation with the State Department of Public Welfare, WPA, etc.

There are no P.H. health groups or other county or community hospital or medical associations in rural Hampshire County. But some facilities belong to the Blue Cross, which has been sponsored recently by the Farm Bureau.

Every town has the services of the "school nurse," "school doctor," and "school dentist" who regularly examine school children as provided by State law. Some treatment is also given and the school nurse more or less serves as a community nurse to local families in various emergency or welfare cases. Both the town government and county Red Cross share in payment of stipends to the school doctor and nurse. Generally, the school nurse occupies a more or less full-time position, often several towns sharing in the employment of one nurse. One or more well-child clinics are sponsored in nearly every town, generally through the cooperation of various county and local groups including the Red Cross, Extension Service, schools, etc.

The county organization of the Red Cross includes a lay representative or chairman in each town, which is the local activity leader of programs

sponsored by the Red Cross. Some of these local Red Cross chairmen are more active than others.

Family aid and other community welfare projects of various sorts are also carried on by various local groups from time to time such as the church, league and legion auxiliary. Some of the valley communities have Boy Scout troops, but there are not generally found active in the thinly populated hill towns one to look to for local leadership and other reasons. Every town has one or more 4-H Clubs and it has already been pointed out that most of the churches in rural communities try to maintain at least some semblance of an active young people's group, but this work has lagged in some towns in recent years due to the war and other factors.

The problems of rural youth, especially recreation and health, are problems of social welfare which in most rural communities are still waiting to be adequately handled.

Informal Contacts and Associations

Even though the activities of the church and various formal organizations are an important part of community life in Hampshire County, nevertheless, a variety of informal associations and contacts play an important part in the social life of many people. Prominent among these informal associations are inter-family visiting, exchange of work and equipment, mutual aid and work bees, card playing and summer supper visiting groups, dances and movies in local or surrounding villages, individual visiting and contact in local postoffices, in stores, visiting before and after church, at weddings and fringe meetings. Such events as the community Christmas programs, church dinners, school and graduation, athletic events and local affairs also constitute an important type of informal association and contact.

Inter-family visiting, once the big bond of the neighborhood as a social grouping, is still a common form of association for rural families in all parts of the county. It is almost entirely within, not between, ethnic and status groups. Ranches and immigrant stock families seldom visit with each other in their homes. But family visiting is not as important as in an earlier day. Neither is it on the neighborhood basis. Rather it is with friends and relatives who live in all directions and distances in other parts of the community or county. This, and the consolidation of one-room schools and the advent of modern transportation, are the principal factors which have greatly reduced the influence of the neighborhood as a social group. In fact, it no longer commonly exists in the structure of rural society in Hampshire County, except as a locality area with "convenience" meaning only.

Recreation and amusement as important kinds of informal association generally consists of attendance at local dances, movies in nearby cities, community and county affairs, family picnics, school athletic events and programs, hunting, fishing, and seasonal sports of various kinds. Generally, the opportunities for all these kinds of informal associations are much more readily available to the valley family than those living in the hill towns.

There is plenty of room for improvement in development of recreational opportunities for local people in rural Hampshire County, but this generally awaits upon alert leadership and community-wide action from all local groups working cooperatively. Some communities in the county have made good progress in developing community recreational facilities and programs during recent years.

Leadership

Leaders may be divided into two general types: (a) Advisory leaders, or those who are regarded as a source of good judgment and advice and as articulators of ideas; and (b) Official leaders, or those who are elected or appointed to the offices and committees of local organizations and activities.

Those who are looked upon as advisory leaders are generally the successful farmers or villagers as measured by size of operations, income, ownership of property, etc., and who are the oldsters or persons who have "won their spurs" in the community by a record of achievement and respect. This is true among both Yankees and immigrant stock, and in both the valley and the hill towns. Often the advisory leaders are former official leaders. Inherited status also plays an important part in their "selection."

The selection of official leadership varies with the positions and work concerned, as leadership in the local government and the church generally goes to residents of long standing, or to highly regarded newcomers who have proven themselves over a period of 5-10 years residence.

Official leadership in organizations and societies like the Grange, PTA and women's groups generally go to those who are willing and able to carry the burdens. Generally such positions go begging, for a lot of the "dirty work" or active responsibilities sometimes become associated with organization offices. Often, no one wants to be the Chairman or the President of this or that. This is due partly to the inadequate way such organizations sometimes function with respect to leader-follower cooperation, discussion of policies and problems, frequency of meetings and ways of handling various duties and the like. On the other hand, in organizations like the Grange, some leadership positions are status-giving and to a certain extent are sought after. Official leadership of farm organizations generally goes to the successful farmers and older persons who have the time, experience and articulation. Farmers of immigrant stock participate more freely with the Yankees in farm organizations than in other organized activities, and they also are accepted as leaders in them.

In rural Hampshire County women are generally given a prominent place in the distribution of official leadership. In fact, in some communities some women are called upon to do more than their share.

Service Centers and Community Ecology

The service centers in Hampshire County fall into four general types, according to extent of services available in them and the size of their trade areas.

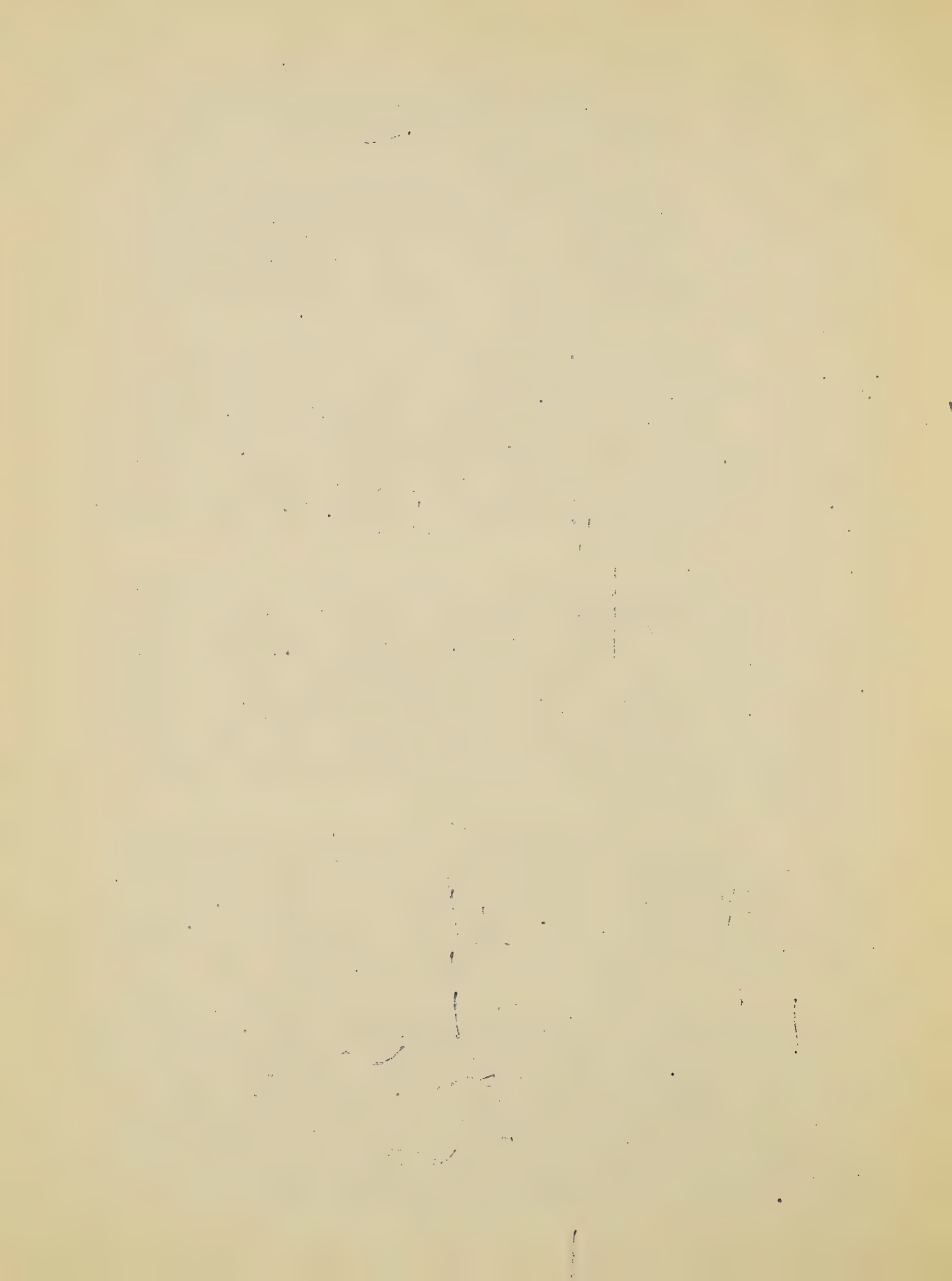
1. Simple-service hamlets are those which generally have a grocery store-gas pump-postoffice and perhaps a school and part-time church. Some of these may also have a sawmill or some other small industry. They range from 75-150 population and one or more are found in nearly every township. West Cummington and North Hadley are examples of simple service hamlets in Hampshire County. The hinterland or outreach of simple-service hamlets is generally limited to a portion of the township although sometimes these centers may draw a few borderline families from an adjoining township. Some of them are the remains of what were sizeable thriving villages at one time, but which since have suffered the adjustments of the last century. Others are merely four-corner service centers that have developed independently of any major factor.

2. Simple-service center villages are distinguishable from the above hamlets by the fact that here are located the town hall, central school, principal churches, Grange Hall, library and other community facilities. From the standpoint of trade centers they are not much different than the simple-service hamlets, although some may have a garage and additional stores or other services. Generally the trade area of the small center-villages is pretty much limited to the township. They range from 75-300 population. Chesterfield and Southampton centers are examples of this type of village. The center village is the institutional center of the town.

3. Semi-complete center villages are also institutional centers like the center-villages described above, but they are distinguished from these by having more services available in them. Semi-complete center villages usually have several grocery or general stores, garage, hardware store, feed dealer, high school, two or more churches, and generally one or more doctors. Some of them are rail points. The population of semi-complete center villages ranges from 300-600. Williamsburg and Hatfield are examples of such villages in Hampshire County. Generally, they have somewhat more outreach for certain services than do the simple villages and hamlets described above. But most of their volume trade is from within the township.

4. Complete-specialized service centers. Out beyond are those township centers which have grown to be cities of 2,500-20,000 population or more. There are four such centers in Hampshire County; Easthampton and Holyoke are principally industrial trade centers; Northampton is the county seat and a principal trade and cultural center of this section of the State; and Amherst is almost entirely a college town, it being the seat of Amherst College and Massachusetts State College.

Most of the rural families in Hampshire County are within 15-25 miles of at least one such center, within 10 miles of semi-complete village centers, and within 2-3 miles of simple-service hamlets or center villages. Many families have trade-service contacts in all these towns, seldom do they limit all their activities to only one. Each of these types is found in both the hill country and the village. Nearly all of them have one or more points of historic interest. It has also been pointed out that Hadley and Hatfield in the valley are decidedly of the line-agricultural village type as regards to pattern of settlement; i. e., farmsteads are clustered along prominent streets with farmlands extending to the rear.



The most significant feature of community ecology in Hampshire County as well as throughout New England, is the significant role of the township in determining the area of common interaction and feeling of belonging. In general, three different types of community areas are discernible in Hampshire County.

1. Town communities, where the area of community attachments and local activities tends to be predominantly the township, with the center of common interests being the township's center village. The town community is the basic type in rural New England and it is still almost entirely used by nonlocal agencies as the basis of local organization.

2. Inner-town communities, where the area of principal interaction and feeling of belonging tend to be limited to a portion of the township with the center of activities being a single-service hamlet located several miles from the township center village. Generally, these inner-town communities persist because of the continuance of two or three services or institutions which integrate them as communities, or sometimes because of some geographic factor such as a steep hill or a stream, and sometimes by the long time residence of one or more key families in the township. In some cases the identity of an inner-town community is also strengthened by conflicts that arise from time to time over such issues as school consolidation, or installation of a water system in the center village. The existence of inner-town communities must be reckoned with by agencies that endeavor to organize or work with rural people, since very meaningful and significant attachments accrue to these small communities and their hamlet centers. These inner-town communities are not necessarily to be thought of as "true" neighborhoods. In most cases there is no more visiting or other neighboring patterns in them than in larger communities, and at least the same proportion of families who live in them may not be acquainted with one another. They are simply small communities.

3. Inter-town communities, where a complete-service center village or city has come to be the focal point of the common activities and attachments, other than local government, of the people who live in all or parts of several surrounding townships. No such community has yet developed in Hampshire County, but there are instances of such communities here and there in other parts of the region.

IV. PATTERNS AND RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE OUTSIDE

It has already been suggested in preceding sections that out beyond the local community is a Great Society which includes the surrounding towns and cities, the Commonwealth, the nation, and the world. The community is not only the local area of common life. It is also the focal point which lies between the family and this Great Society. Some of the factors which feature the relationship between Hampshire County rural areas and the Great Society are briefly noted below.

Channels of Communication with the Great Society

Hard-surfaced, all weather roads lead from rural Hampshire communities to surrounding villages and cities in all directions. Many

communities are located either on a railroad or a bus transportation system. Commercial freight-truck companies serve nearly all sections of the county, and the traveling delivery trucks of baking companies and wholesalers of all kinds make their regular stops at nearly all rural villages and hamlets. Telephone and telegraph services are readily available to the large majority of rural families throughout the county. In fact, even the dial 'phone now generally prevails throughout rural New England. Virtually every rural family also receives free mail delivery daily, or are near to hamlet postoffices. Many also read at least one daily newspaper, and probably 9 out of every 10 families have a radio. People in rural Hampshire are nearly as well informed on major happenings of State and nation as are their city cousins.

Channels of Contacts with the Great Society

1. Trade and service contacts. It has already been shown that rural people in Hampshire County make contacts for groceries, clothing, school, church, commercial recreation, farm supplies and the like in various types of trade and service centers. No rural communities in Hampshire County are "self-contained" and this is generally true of a great deal of rural New England.

2. Farm marketing contacts. Northampton, Springfield, Pittsfield and other surrounding cities within a radius of 25 miles are the principal elementary market centers for agricultural products. But farmers do not make many trips specifically for marketing purposes, especially from the hill towns. Dealers' trucks and commercial trucking concerns pick up at the farm a large proportion of the milk, fruit, potatoes, sweet corn, maple syrup and other commodities. Thus, the farmer's contact with market centers and dealers is more or less indirect, although many of the sizable-scale valley farm operators do contact them more directly than those in the hill country. Nevertheless, all farmers are thrown into the commercial patterns of modern times and are required to be business men as well as toilers, even though their contact with market centers may be irregular and indirect.

3. Young people attend high school in surrounding villages and cities, especially those who live in the hill country, for many hill towns do not have a high school. This is an important contact with the world outside the community, since it is made at an early age and is carried on intensely for several years. By the time they graduate from high school, young people are well aware of the Great Society out beyond their home communities, with its different environment, different standards, different ways of doing, and extended opportunities.

4. Commuting to employment in surrounding villages and cities while living in the home community has become an increasingly common practice of rural Hampshire County people during the last 25 years, and this trend has been accelerated by World War II.

5. Migration of people who for various reasons wish to make their home elsewhere has been for over two centuries an important pattern affecting the culture of rural Hampshire County. Undoubtedly this is an

important factor in making local people conscious of their interrelationship with the Great Society out beyond their home community.

6. The intercontact of local people with the summer people and others who come into the community is also an important channel between the home community and the Great Society. Summer residents, vacationists and tourists who come to live in the rural areas of Hampshire County bring a bit of the dress, customs and ideas of the Great Society to the rural community, and carry away a bit of its rural culture.

7. Professional leaders and technicians, such as school teachers, ministers, county extension agents, and other specialists or representatives of various agencies are also an important means of intercontact between folk in rural areas and the Great Society out beyond. They are a primary source of the new technology and thinking to which the hill towns have become increasingly exposed during the last quarter century.

8. Informal contacts at reunions, inter-town and inter-county fairs and other events all afford interaction and exchange of culture between local people and the Great Society.

9. In addition to all these contacts, rural people in Hampshire County have been brought face to face with the Great Society by inter-regional competition, the impact of which has resulted in major economic and population adjustments up through the years.

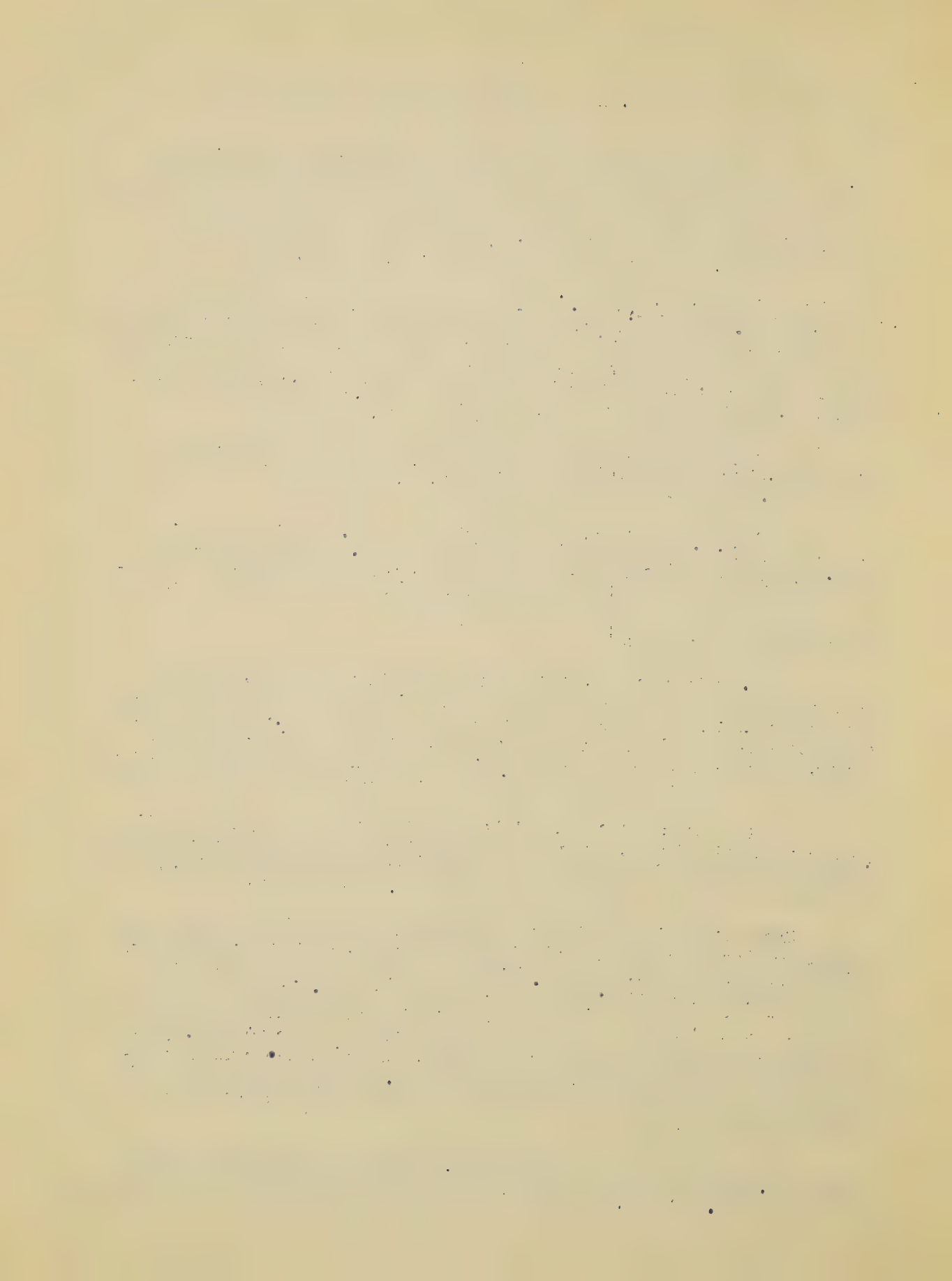
Effects and Consequences

Thus, it is seen that hill-town communities are not isolated. They have numerous contacts with the Great Society, and increasingly so during the last half century. These have brought new ideas, new standards, modern practices and more dollars to people in many rural communities. They are more conscious than ever before of the increasing interdependence between their town and other communities, the Commonwealth, and the world.

But the impact of the Great Society does not equally affect all phases of local culture. Changes in technology are most quickly accepted, such as those which have to do with mechanical developments, building construction, household equipment, and other rural technologies.

One's attitudes and ideas of government, economics, practices and customs of local organizations and institutions, and family beliefs and customs all tend to change more slowly. In fact, the influence of the Great Society upon these will even meet with some resistance. But changes and new cultural traits are accepted partly because of the public nature of these things; i. e., changes are worked out cooperatively or by consensus within the group or community. However, there is more resistance to changes in family and institutional attitudes and practices than changes in mechanical technologies, for the former affect more "vital" things of life.

Still less changeable are farming practices, cooking and eating habits, household customs, and the like. These are more or less personal and family affairs. They change most slowly, not because of overt resistance,



but because of inertia and tradition.

Neither is the impact of the Great Society felt with equal force by all families alike. Young families are more ready to accept the new from outside contacts than are their parents. Newcomer families generally are more willing to change their farming practices, living habits, and ideas than the native oldsters. They also exert more influence toward changing local community patterns and practices than do the oldsters. They have made changes before, had other experiences, and lived in different communities; therefore, are generally less tied to long-standing local traditions and practices. Large-scale commercial farmers, and people who are in business in competition with others, generally change their ideas and practices more readily than those who live close to their small farms and home towns. The people who belong to local organizations, who participate in the community, and who frequently visit other communities accept new ideas and patterns of doing more readily than those who live close to their homes. Generally the farmers and homemakers of immigrant stock who live in the valley are more likely to accept new ideas and things than the Yankees of the hill country.

There is no doubt but what families and communities have been influenced by contacts with the outside in one way or another, ever since the days of first settlement. But people in rural communities of Hampshire County live mostly in their homes and local communities. Their attachments to these are still clearly distinguishable and they are more aware of their home and community than of anything else. In fact, the Great Society is not yet an emulsion, but only a solution in which the local community is an insoluble element. The conditions of rural life in New England may further change, and may become more interrelated with the Great Society in the future. But its town-like communities and the attachments of people to them will live a long time.

V. VALUE SYSTEMS, ATTITUDES, IDEAS AND IDEALS

A fundamental cultural aspect of societies everywhere consists of the predominating attitudes and ideas which make up the value systems of the people. These influence and control the thinking and actions of individuals and groups, and the structure and processes of communities. They are interrelated with all other aspects of culture as has already been shown in earlier paragraphs. Any agency or leader who endeavors to work with rural peoples must understand and reckon with their value systems. Some of the controlling attitudes and values prominent in the rural culture of Hampshire County are briefly outlined in the following paragraphs.

Regarding relation to the land

1. Rural people in Hampshire County value home ownership rather highly. The head of a family is more or less charged with the responsibility of acquiring and taking good care of his place for the security of the family and for the children in later years. The sentimental attachment to land is more one of it being the place for a home and a source of security or livelihood.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the system has solutions for all values of the parameters α and β if the function $f(x)$ is continuous and has a bounded derivative. The second part of the paper is devoted to a detailed study of the properties of the solutions of the system (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) are unique and depend continuously on the parameters α and β . The third part of the paper is devoted to a study of the asymptotic properties of the solutions of the system (1) for large values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) approach zero as the parameters α and β approach infinity.

On the other hand, the Polish farmer does not value ownership or land as highly. He is more of a rational "economic" man. The land is a source of income; the farm home a place of residence while operating the farm for income. It should be said, however, that the difference between these two types is becoming less than it was a generation ago. The younger generation Yankee is not so strongly tied to the land and home place as was his father or grandfather. While the younger generation Polish values security more highly and is more closely attached to his home place than was his father and grandfather. This tendency is easily understandable. It is partly due to the differences in situations of the two groups in the history of each group in America.

2. Care of the place and pride in the community also count with the Yankees. Many Yankee farms and farm homes are of long-standing, and have sentimental value to the people. Nearly all dwellings are kept well painted and if one cannot afford to paint the backside of the barn or sheds, or for some other reason does not care to do so, very often at least the front side is painted. Also the stone-wall fences are supposed to be kept up and the hay and weeds cut around the farmstead and along the roads. It is generally recognized, however, that the attractive appearance of the countryside with its white and trim-looking homes on what appears to be poor land, is not all due to the value system of the Yankee. Part of it is due to these places being owned by summer people who have put in the time and money to renovate and maintain at least the home ground in good condition.

The immigrant differed from the Yankees in this respect. He cared less for the appearance of the farm and community, and this was one reason why the Yankee sometimes resented him. On the other hand, the younger generation immigrants do have much more pride in their places than did their forefathers, which is undoubtedly due partly to contact with the Yankee. However, this tendency is one which is generally characteristic of a rising agriculture anywhere, and not entirely due to cultural assimilation.

3. Along with the high record for home ownership is a strong desire of rural people in Hampshire County to keep ownership of the home within the family. This is especially true of the Yankee family. It is heart-breaking for them to see the places of former well known local families change hands, and especially for them to pass into the hands of summer people and newcomers from other towns. But increased mobility of rural people and greater complexity or secularization of rural life are tending to weaken the tie of younger Yankees to the land. The tendency toward economic stability and local attachment of the immigrant, after overcoming his first anxiety in getting a foothold on the new land, may be tending, on the other hand, to make the younger immigrant stock value family maintenance of home ownership more highly than his foreign-born father or grandfather.

Regarding Basic Agricultural Techniques and Tools

A host of practices and techniques pertaining to farm operation and other aspects of rural life are included in the value systems of all

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1. The first part of the text discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions, including sales, purchases, and expenses. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for determining the correct amount of tax liability.

societies. This is none the less true of Hampshire County. But here the significant discernible feature is that such things are not outstanding in the value system of either the Yankee or the immigrant stock; i. e., not outstanding enough to constitute any important controlling factor in the organization and processes of the family and the community.

The significant thing is that other values and attitudes are more important in the minds of the people than those that are attached to farm practices. In the hill country operation of the farm does not occupy the center of conversation in life like it does, for example, in the Middle West. It has been simple, stable and intelligent for a long time. Differences in practices of farmers do not stick out in any important way. The same is true in the valley. Farming here is intensive, specialized, and standardized, especially on the truck and fruit farms.

Interestingly enough, a few new farmers from Aroostook County, Maine, and other sections, who have a different value system and particularly are more "economic-minded" are trickling into the hill towns of Hampshire County and endeavoring to rebuild, expand and commercialize the farms which they generally have purchased from a retiring Yankee. Undoubtedly some repercussion will result as the differences in value systems between the natives and these new farmers begin to appear. In some ways the native farmer may be stimulated and certain values as to farm practices may rise to a more important place in his value system. While on the other hand, the two value systems may come into sharp clash out of which overt issues might easily arise in the community like the question of soil conservation or some local school policy.

Regarding Security and the Worth of Man

1. In rural Hampshire County as well as throughout New England self support and independence are also valued highly. This is especially true of the native Yankee. The economic hitch hiker is looked down upon. Respect accrues to those who make their own way. A person is at least partially judged by whether or not he has a full woodshed, processed foods in the cellar, and is a good worker and supporting his family without public assistance. However, independence and self support are values which were more commonly held by the oldsters than by the present generation. Such things as the old age pension, public relief, and aid to needy children in connection with the school health program, do not have quite the stigma today that they had a generation ago. But they are considered in evaluating the worth of man. Independence and self support are also valued highly by families of immigrant stock. After all, when they or their forefathers first came to America there was need to get a foothold and everyone in the family had to pitch in and help.

2. Related to independence and self support is the general attitude of thrift, saving and conservatism. This is especially true of the Yankee in the hill country. The squanderer who is later in debt or on public relief is not held in high regard. The people are frugal and everywhere there are evidences that small things count. Tools are kept under shelter, plenty of firewood should be on hand and neatly piled in the woodshed; buildings and equipment are generally patched or repaired rather than

replaced with new ones, and nearly every open tract of land is used for something even if it is small and stony. A person remodels and repairs because at the time it seems more thrifty to do so, even if in the long run it might actually require less cash outlay to buy or build new. A person is judged more by his frugality, rather than by what his purchases might be if he were spendthrift.

Probably the thrift and conservatism of the New England Yankee stems from the many years of hard work, low income, and adjustment which has characterized New England rural sections up through the years. This probably has tended to produce a sort of conservatism or hesitation to venture or take a chance for fear of lowering one's already meager savings and level of living. Only now and then will one find a Yankee farmer or villager who is willing to sink a sum into a new farm or business enterprise, or practice. The dollar is valued highly and sought after with determination, but for the purpose of obtaining a simple home and security, not as a capitalistic investment. The Yankee is a shrewd trader, but not an exploiter or speculator.

Those of immigrant stock, on the other hand, do not value thrift, frugality, and conservatism as highly. Income, commercialism, efficiency and willingness to venture are more typical of their attitudes. In this connection it is said that a banker would much rather loan money to a Pole than a Yankee for he knows that the Poles will make greater effort to make the money to pay off the loan.

3. Also inter-related with the above attitudes is the fact that the Yankee is not ostentatious or given to show even though he respects neatness. If one should spend considerable money to build a new house, or by a new piece of machinery he more often than not would be somewhat hesitant before his neighbors, rather than prideful. While in the Middle West or even among the immigrant stock of the valley in Hampshire County, it would be more common for a person to make a display of his new tractor, or new house, with pride. In these places such things would be a mark of success and high status, but among the Yankees in rural New England it would be a mark of spendthriftiness and daring at the expense of security.

But even though early life in New England was hard and may have tended to produce people who were conservative, thrifty, and unostentatious, this is not to say that the Yankee of today is cold, hard, and inarticulate. To be sure, some are strongly attached to habits, customs, and traditions. But on the whole, the people in rural Hampshire County, both the Yankee and immigrant stock, are friendly, liberal in religious thought, and very willing to adjust to changing conditions once they are convinced that it is the right thing to do. After all, they have been making adjustments to the times all up through the years. And they have always had contacts in surrounding urban centers.

4. Disapproval of liquor and hilarity is another significant factor noticeable among the Yankees in Hampshire County in evaluating the worth of man. This value is somewhat more noticeable in the valley

for in an earlier day it was one of the principal sources of resentment against the immigrant because of his addiction to beer, drunkenness, and hilarity of the young people. This presented something new to the Yankee and was not liked by him. It is still important here today in evaluating or comparing the worth of man.

5. Localism is also prominent in the value system of rural people in Hampshire County, especially in the hill towns. "This is our town and we look after our needs in our own way." "Below town or Next town do things their way, but it isn't as good as our's." "The people in Over town are different." Associated with or a part of this localism is a strong pride in the town. People are sensitive to critical remarks about their community, and also to anything that will give their town a black mark. There is not much tendency to praise local virtues but the towns unfortunate incidents are hushed up rather than corrective steps taken. Local people are resentful if something creditable to their local town is mistakenly credited by the county daily paper to a larger town nearby. People are strongly identified to the towns they live in and are proud of them. This is particularly true of the Yankees, but not so much so of the older generation immigrant stock in the valley since they were outsiders who came into already established communities of which they had no part in developing.

<u>Family Life</u>)	
<u>Education</u>)	
<u>Religion</u>)	The important values in connection with these aspects
<u>Neighborliness</u>)	of rural culture to be mentioned in this reconnais-
<u>Ethnocentrism</u>)	sance survey have already been discussed in corres-
)	ponding sections in Chapter III on social organization.
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)	

Finally, none of the value attitudes, status groupings and practices that make up the culture of rural Hampshire County should be viewed singly. It is when they are taken together that they make up the real tenor of hill town folk and communities.

...the fact that the people of the valley are not only interested in the valley but also in the world. They are not only interested in the valley but also in the world. They are not only interested in the valley but also in the world.

5. Location is also a factor in the value system of most people in Hampshire County, especially in the hill towns. "This is our town and we look after our needs in our own way," "Better town on New town do things their way, but it isn't as good as ours," "The people in Over town are different," "Assuredly with or a part of this location is a strong pride in the town. People are sensitive to critical remarks about their community, and also to anything that will give their town a black mark. There is not much tendency to praise local virtues but the towns union people incidents are picked up rather than corrective steps taken. Local people are essential if something creditable to their local town is substantially credited by the county daily paper to a larger town nearby. People are strongly identified to the towns they live in and are proud of them. This is particularly true of the Yankees, but not so much of the older generation immigrant stock in the valley since they were out-riders who came into already established communities of which they had no part in developing.

Family life	
Education	
Religion	
Neighborhoodness	
Friendship	

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